



The COMMUNIST

All Power to the Workers!

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA

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Five Cents

Answer Wilson's Challenge, Workingmen!

Proclamation by the United Communist Party of America.

Workingmen of the United States!

THE Government of the United States has taken the leadership of the capitalist forces that are fighting to keep the workers in industrial slavery. It is seeking to unite all the capitalist governments of the world for the purpose of stamping out any attempt of the workers to free themselves from the oppression and robbery which is their lot under the capitalist system.

The declaration of war against the workers' struggle for freedom was made in a note sent to the Italian Government by the Wilson administration. This note repeats the usual lies about Soviet Russia. These lies are spread by the capitalists in order to deceive you and prevent you from rallying to the support of the workers and peasants of Russia.

The note attacks the Soviet Government as not being "democratic". It is true, the Soviet Government is a Dictatorship of the Proletariat, yet a larger part of the population has the right to vote in Russia than in the United States! The hypocrisy of this statement is also shown by the fact that the Government of the United States, which scolds Russia for not being democratic, put four thousand Communists under arrest in January of this year. It refuses to deal with Soviet Russia because it declares it is not a "democracy", but it did not refuse to deal with the Czar's Government, which was the blackest autocracy on the face of the earth.

The note declares that the Government of the United States has always been the friend of the Russian people and will continue to be their friend. In 1918 President Wilson issued a statement assuring the Russian workers and peasants of the friendship of this country, but since that time the Wilson administration has shown its friendship for the Russian workers and peasants by helping to starve them through the blockade, by furnishing murder machinery to Kolchak, to Denikin and to the Poles, all of whom have robbed and pillaged Russian villages and tortured Russian men, women and children. Thus does the Government of the United States show its friendship for the struggling and suffering workers and peasants of Russia!

The Government of the United States is not the friend of the workers and peasants of Russia. It is the friend of the czarist generals, it is the friend of the Russian capitalists, it is the friend of everyone who desires to overthrow the Soviet Republic established by the workers and peasants of Russia in order to assure their freedom from the robbery and oppression of the capitalists and landowners.

The Government of the United States is the agent of the powerful capitalist class of this country—the capitalists who are robbing and oppressing you. The capitalists of the United States hate Soviet Russia because it is a threat against the whole system of capitalist exploitation the world over. They fear that the workers of this country may do what the workers of Russia have done,

and that they will no longer be able to wallow in riches while the workers suffer. These capitalists want to treat Soviet Russia just as they treat you when you go on strike — beat you into submission through the mailed fist of their military machine. They want to shoot and club the workers and peasants of Russia who are in revolt against the capitalist system, just as they shoot and club you when you strike against low wages and bad working conditions.

Workingmen of the United States! The capitalist government of this country dares thus to threaten the workers and peasants of Russia, because you permit it to do so. The capitalists treat you like dirt under their feet because you do not unite your power and rebell.

The Italian Government would like to attack and destroy Soviet Russia, but it does not dare to do so because the workers of Italy threaten it with revolution. The English Government would like to go to the aid of Poland but the English workers threaten revolt. The workers of France, Germany, Checho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia, yes, everywhere in Europe, have mobilized their power against their governments to prevent them from attacking Soviet Russia.

ARE THE WORKINGMEN OF THE UNITED STATES ALONE TO BE TRAITORS TO THE CAUSE OF WORKING CLASS FREEDOM?

Workingmen of the United States! It is your task and your duty to break the power of the capitalist government of this country and to prevent it from using its strength to uphold world capitalism against the struggling workers of the world.

Refuse to do any work to aid the enemies of Soviet Russia. Railroad workers, refuse to transport troops or munitions! Dockworkers, refuse to load ships with munitions or supplies for Poland or Wrangel. Munition workers, declare a strike rather than produce instruments of destruction for use against Soviet Russia. Sailors, follow the example of the Italian sailors who left their ship in New York harbor rather than aid the enemies of Soviet Russia.

Workers everywhere, organize in your shops for common action against the government, to compel it to cease its attack against Soviet Russia. Answer Wilson's challenge by organizing to overthrow the capitalist government of this country.

WORKINGMEN OF THE UNITED STATES! YOUR FREEDOM AS WELL AS THE FREEDOM OF THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS OF RUSSIA IS AT STAKE. YOU MUST ALIGN YOURSELF WITH THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS OF RUSSIA. YOU MUST STAND SHOULDER TO SHOULDER WITH THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES IN THE STRUGGLE TO OVERTHROW THE CAPITALIST GOVERNMENTS AND WORLD CAPITALISM.

Long Live Soviet Poland!

Proclamation by the United Communist Party of America

To The Polish Workers of the United States!

THE Polish bourgeois papers and the Polish bourgeois organizations are appealing to you to rally to the support of Poland in its struggle against Soviet Russia. They are asking you to buy Polish Government bonds with your hard-earned wages and even to give up your lives.

Polish workers! The bourgeois organizations and bourgeois papers are lying to you in order to secure your support for the

capitalist government of Poland in the struggle against the workers and peasants of Russia.

The Soviet Government of Russia is not fighting to annex or destroy your country. It is fighting to save the workers' republic of Russia from the attack of the capitalist governments which are using Poland as their tool, and to free the workers and peasants of Poland from those who rob and exploit them.

(Continued on page 8)

The Beginning of Despair

THE capitalist statesmen are beginning to stand aghast at the forces which the imperialistic war has let loose in the world.

The war itself was the inevitable product of the economic forces which compelled each capitalist nation to adopt an imperialistic policy. The need for an outlet for its productive forces and the opportunity for investment of its surplus capital drove each capitalist country into a policy of expansion which brought it into conflict with other capitalist nations. It was not a chance shot a Sarejevo which started the conflagration but it was the culmination of the economic conflict.

The capitalist statesmen no doubt realized the economic origin of the struggle. There cant about a "war for democracy" was merely for popular consumption, to create the illusions that would make the cannon fodder go to the front willingly. But they did not consider themselves puppets moved by stronger forces than they themselves could dominate. They would make war. They would destroy their economic rivals. Then they would make peace and all would be as before, except that they would have to deal with fewer powerful rivals in the struggle for economic advantage.

Such no doubt was there the program when they gaily traveled to Paris to reconstruct the world. They carried out their program in the most rapacious style. They framed a peace treaty which was to divide the exploitation of the world between England, France, Italy, the United States and Japan. The terms forced upon Germany, and what was Austria-Hungary, were to destroy those nations forever as rivals in the imperialistic struggle.

But the forces which have been let loose by the world war have not ceased to operate because of what four wise men wrote upon paper at Paris. A year has gone by since they completed their work, but the conditions for pleasant, peaceable division of the spoils, with a world settled down to the humdrum life of 1914 have not come.

The capitalist statesmen have cried peace, but there is no peace. War and yet more war has developed. Armies are fighting in many parts of Europe and Asia. The class struggle has been intensified and there is the immediate danger that open civil war, with the workers fighting to overthrow the capitalist governments, may soon wrend every country of Eu-

rope. The economic conditions requisites for the restoration of profitable business, cannot be restored. In place of peaceful, reaping of profits, there is chaos, the threat of the collapse of the whole structure of capitalism. No wonder, then, that Premier Lloyd George and Premier Giolitti, send forth from their meeting at Lucerne, this wail of despair:

The British and Italian governments are alarmed at the indefinite prolongation of the present state of conflict among the nations. The peoples engaged in these antagonism can bring nothing but ever-increasing misery to the peoples of the world at large for they involve continued unrest. Until these conflicts cease the betterment of agriculture, industry and the interchange of commodities on which the economic life of nations depends, cannot come into full operation. Scarcity and high prices, with attendant privations and perils are the inevitable result.

Civilization itself, shaken and weakened by five years of incessant warfare, is menaced by the prospect. The British and Italian Governments, therefore, are united in urging that every effort be made to bring to a conclusion the existing conditions of strife between nations.

What a change in the tone of this appeal from the pronouncements of the four autocrats who thought they were ruling the world from Paris! The capitalist statesmen begin to realize that forces beyond their control are at work. They no longer direct, but plead.

Their pleas will have as little effect as their orders. Capitalism has had its day. It is on the down-grade to oblivion. The task of reconstruction, of saving society from "ever-increasing misery", is beyond the power of capitalist statesmanship.

The only country in which that task has been begun is Soviet Russia. The reconstruction of society from the ruins of capitalism is the task of the workers. Before the path upward can be gained every capitalist country will have to pass through the social revolution, which has been won in Russia. It is through the proletarian revolution that civilization and production will be established on a sound basis again. There is no other road that society can travel.

The Party Shop Organization Program

IN the previous issue of "The Communist" was printed a program for the organization of party agitation groups in the shops and trade unions and of shop committees and industrial councils. This program marks the first effort to connect the Communist movement in this country with the mass of the workers.

Up to this time the Communist parties have been merely agitation groups, with no power to initiate any action by the masses of the workers. If a crisis arose the party could print a leaflet giving a communist interpretation to the events, and thus endeavor to influence the workers, but it had no means through which it could initiate action in the workers' organizations to carry out the policies it advocated.

To give a concrete illustration, in the pre-

sent crisis in relation to Soviet Russia the party has issued a number of leaflets appealing to the workers to refuse to perform any work that will aid the enemies of Soviet Russia. These leaflets may bring sporadic responses. They may inspire individuals in various unions to take up the question and endeavor to put their organization on record in favor of the policy advocated by the party. But the party cannot initiate an organized movement. It has no direct contact with the masses through which it can propose its policy in concrete form and bring about united action.

So long as this condition prevails the party will be helpless in developing the mass action of the workers. It will remain merely an agitation organization without the power to reap the advantage of its agitation work

through bringing about united action after it has prepared the ground through agitation.

The importance of the shop organization program developed by the Central Executive Committee cannot be overestimated. Until the organizations is well under way, the party will not be able to function in the life struggles of the workers. It will not be able to act as the guiding influence in the industrial struggles of the workers. It will be able to initiate political struggles in which the workers use their industrial power.

In place of ten thousand Communists more or less segregated in their political organizations from the masses of the workers, there must be ten thousand party members organized in agitation groups in shops and unions, who take the initiative in organizing and controlling shop committee and industrial councils. If such an organization is created in even one thousand factories, the party could, in place of distributing a few hundred thousand leaflets and posters, call a one day strike of several million workers to bring pressure to bear upon the government and prevent aid to the enemies of Soviet Russia. It would have the power for action.

Every party group, every party committee, should take up the shop committee and industrial council program at once, discuss it thoroughly so as to acquaint every member with its purpose, and then aggressively push the work of creating the organizations outlined.

Upon our success in creating shop agitation groups, union agitation groups, shop committees and industrial councils, depends whether our party shall be a corpse, or a vital, living, functioning organization.

Communiques

LOYD GEORGE and Giolitti say in their statement from Lucerne:

The Government of Poland is based on the choice of the whole adult male population of the country without distinction of class, and the so-called Civil Army, to be drawn from one class, which is referred to in the fourth condition of the Soviet terms, is only an indirect method of organizing a force to overthrow by violence this Democratic constitution and substitute for it the despotism of a privileged few who may have absorbed the doctrine of Bolshevism.

The Soviet Government proposed that the armed forces of Poland be made up of workers and peasants, who compose the vast majority of the population of that country, but Lloyd George and Giolitti, the Italian premier, say that it would not be democratic to have the class representing the majority of the population armed. They might take it into their head to use their arms against the privileged exploiting class and overthrow the government, and that of course would not be "democratic"? Such is capitalist democracy!

* * *

THE former premier of Poland, Ignace Paderewski, does not like the hypocrisy of the Allied statesmen who have been trying to make believe that Poland alone was responsible for the attack on Soviet Russia, and that they opposed the imperialistic designs of that country. He let the cat out of the bag when he said in a recent statement:

(Continued on page 6)

Armed Force and the Class Struggle

THE New York Call has become adept at the game of the prostituted press. While the organization of the United Communist Party passed unnoticed in its columns, in its issue of August 18th it devotes three columns to an article headed "Communists split on Debt endorsement" purporting to be a report of a "mass convention" held by the Washington (state) "Communists".

The article, while featured as specially written for The Call, was evidently culled from the Party Builder, the organ of the Washington state organization, by a member of The Call's staff.

The headline is pure fabrication, for there is no evidence in the article that the question of endorsement of Debs as presidential nominee was an issue before the "mass convention". This matter is merely mentioned in the report of the state secretary. The object of printing this article is undoubtedly to continue the slimy allegation that the Communist organization is dominated by spies and agent provocateurs, which has been the only reply The Call has been able to make to exposure of the Socialist Party as the party of the American Scheidemanns, Noskes and Company.

While the vehicle for the attack in this instance is The Call, the source of its material is the "mass convention" of former members of the Communist Labor Party of Washington. What is euphemistically described as a "mass convention" was undoubtedly a meeting of less than a score of former members of the Washington state organization of the C. L. P. These individuals in no way represent the bulk of the former member of the C. L. P. in that state, among whom organization work for the United Communist Party is going on through special organizers. Not even all those who attended the "mass convention" were of the opinion of the former state secretary, Ruby Herman and John McSarrow, who are quoted as attacking the U. C. P. For the "mass convention" seems not to have taken any other actions than to decide to wait for further information.

It is worth while noting, however, why these individuals refuse to join the United Communist Party. Careful analysis of the statement of the former state secretary and of that read into the minutes by John McSarrow, brings the conclusion that there is one reason and one reason only why these individuals did not and should not join the United Communist Party. That reason is the following clause in the program of the U. C. P.

At an advanced stage of the class struggle the capitalists realize the futility of other means and resort to widespread use of the armed power of the state. The capitalist government then functions openly as a military dictatorship. The working class must then answer force with force. The class struggle, which so long appeared in forms unrecognizable to the millions of the workers actively engaged in it, develops into open combat, civil war. The United Communist Party will systematically and persistently familiarize the working class with the inevitability of armed force in the proletarian revolution. The working class must be prepared for armed insurrection as the final form of mass action by which the workers shall conquer the state power

and establish the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

This statement was evidently too much for weak-kneed "Communists" of the McSarrow and Ruby Herman type.

There is, of course, no attempt to deny that the statement is in accord with the facts of the class struggle. The only answer that is made is that which certain I. W. W. writers have been so freely making — that such a program could only have been written by Palmer's agents, who want to make it easy to deport and imprison Communists.

This charge was made against the drafters of the program of the former Communist Party, (which, by the way, did not contain any such clause and which has since been declared legal by Federal Judge Anderson of Boston) and in the absence of sufficient understanding to discuss the matter on its merits the easiest way out it to repeat this silly statement. It also serves as a ready excuse to persons who haven't sufficient backbone to take the chances which membership in an organization which dares make such a declaration involves.

But let us examine the question itself. Is there any basis for the statement that the class struggle inevitably culminates in an armed struggle between the two classes involved?

History gives us a conclusive answer. Every struggle for power between contending classes has developed into civil war. In every historical epoch there has been open, armed conflict between exploiter and exploited. From the slave uprisings of Athens and Rome down to the Russian and German revolution, force has been the final arbiter in the struggle between the classes.

Even those weak-kneed "Communists" (of course they are not Communists in any sense of the word) who opposed joining the United Communist Party because its program contained the clause quoted — and therefore must have been written by agent provocateurs — would have to admit that history gives no example of the struggle for power of the rising class against the ruling class being won without an appeal to force. They would have to admit that before their very eyes in Europe at the present moment force and force alone is the final arbiter in the struggle to emancipate the workers from the exploitation and oppression of the capitalists.

But, they object, in the United States things are different!

Are things different in the United States? In the United States at the present moment the capitalist class and the working class are already engaged in an armed conflict.

Do those persons who oppose the declaration in the program of the U. C. P. that the working class must prepared for armed insurrection, civil war, know what recently happened at Bridgeport, Connecticut? The capitalists used armed force against the striking workers and a pitched battle resulted in which the workers answered force with force. Do they know what happened in Denver during the street car strike? Do they know that an armed conflict is going on in West Virginia between striking miners and the gunmen of the capitalist class at the present moment?

The armed struggle which the program of the United Communist Party speaks of is not a theory. It already exists. The first skir-

mishes in this struggle are going on under the very noses of those who raise their hands in holy horror at the idea of "armed insurrection."

If the struggle between the capitalists and the workers over wages and working conditions cannot be fought without armed conflicts resulting, is there any likelihood that political power can be wrested from the capitalists and the whole system of exploitation abolished without armed conflict?

Possibly the objectors to this clause will answer, that they admit the truth of the argument, but why put such a statement in the party program? We cannot work openly with such a program? We will get arrested and be put in prison!

A Communist party must not shrink from declaring the truth to the working class, regardless of the consequences. To refuse to assume the burden of educating the workers to the necessity of preparing for armed insurrection as the final phase of the struggle for power, is to betray the working class. Unless the workers understand that they cannot win without the use of armed force, they will not prepare for the use of armed force. When the hour for the decisive struggle arrives they will be unready and wavering and prove easy victims for the capitalist military machine. The working class must be educated on this point in order to save the workers from slaughter, in order to make the blood shed during the revolution as little as possible.

It is true we cannot work openly with such a program. We do not therefore sacrifice our program; we become an underground organization until such time as we have the strength to openly challenge the power of the ruling class. The Italian Socialist Party (affiliated with the Communist International) declared its purpose to overthrow the government through armed insurrection, but still functions openly, because it has the power.

As for being arrested and put in prison, that is what it means to be a Communist. Weak-kneed persons may be deterred from speaking the truth by that threat. Their place is not in the United Communist Party but in the ranks of the Yellow Socialists. They and the New York Call can well function together.

The United Communist Party program contains the clause in question because it could not call itself a Communist party if this clause were not included in its program. It could not honestly ask to be accepted as a section of the Communist International without that clause in its program. It invites to membership in the party only those persons who are willing to stand by that clause in all its implications. Any other members would weaken rather than strengthen the party.

DEBS seems to have become infected by the reactionary policy of the Socialist Party. In his first statement, he declares, at a moment when the world is rocking because of the onswEEPing social revolution, that the paramount issue in the United States is the return of the coal mines. In place of pulling the Socialist Party out of the mire Debs is being pulled down into it.

The Communist Parties and Parliamentarism

Thesis of the Executive Committee of the Communist International Presented to the Second Congress.

(1) In a number of countries in Western Europe and America, one of the burning questions of Communist tactics is that of the Parliamentary struggle. The split in the German Communist Party, the formation of an anti-Parliamentarian fraction in the Italian Party, the position of the Belgian Communist group, the disputes in the ranks of the British Communists, and, finally, the attitude of revolutionary syndicalist circles and of the I. W. W.—all these necessitate clear and definite guidance on the part of the Communist International.

I.

(2) Parliamentarism as a State system is the "democratic" form of bourgeois supremacy, which requires, at a certain stage of its development, the aid of the fiction of popular representation. The latter, outwardly the organization of the people's will irrespective of classes, in reality is a machine of suppression and oppression in the hands of dominant capitalism.

(3) Parliamentarism is a definite form of State structure. Consequently it can in no way be a form of Communist society, which knows neither classes, nor the class struggle, nor any form of State whatsoever.

(4) Parliamentarism cannot even be the form of the proletarian government during the period of transition from the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie to the dictatorship of the proletariat. At the moment of intensified class struggle, passing into civil war, the proletariat must inevitably build up its State organization as a fighting organization, into which representatives of the former ruling classes cannot be admitted. At such a stage, any fiction of "the general will" is directly harmful to the proletariat; and similarly unnecessary and harmful is the Parliamentary division of functions. The Soviet Republic represents the form of the Proletarian Dictatorship.

(5) The bourgeois parliaments, which represent one of the important parts of the bourgeois State apparatus, cannot be conquered, just as the bourgeois State itself cannot be conquered by the proletariat. The problem before the proletariat consists in blowing up the bourgeois State machine, in destroying it, and destroying with it all parliamentary institutions, whether of a republic or of a constitutional monarchy.

(6) The same applies to the bourgeois local authorities, which, from a theoretical point of view, it is incorrect to distinguish from the organs of the State. In reality, they are just as much parts of the bourgeois State mechanism, which will have to be destroyed by the revolutionary proletariat, and replaced by local Councils of Workers' Deputies.

(7) Consequently, Communism repudiates parliamentarism as a form of the nature; it repudiates

the possibility of conquering parliaments; it lays down as its aim the destruction of parliamentarism. For this reason there can be a question only of utilizing the bourgeois State institutions with the object of their destruction. On this, and only on this plane, can the question be discussed.

II.

(8) Every class struggle is a political struggle, since, in the long run, it is a struggle for power. Any strike which spreads throughout the country begins to threaten the bourgeois State, and thereby acquires a political character. To strive to overthrow the bourgeoisie, and to destroy its State apparatus by whatever means, signifies to carry on a political struggle. The creation of a class apparatus — for the task of government and to crush the opposition of the bourgeoisie (whatever be the nature of that apparatus) means the conquest of political power.

(9) Consequently, the question of the political struggle is not at all the same as the question of our attitude towards parliamentarism. It is the general question of the class struggle of the proletariat, in the measure that that struggle passes from petty and sectional forms to a struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist order.

(10) The fundamental method of struggle employed by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, i. e., against its State power, is, first and foremost, the method of mass action. Mass action is organized and directed by mass organizations of the proletariat, under the general guidance of a strongly knitted, disciplined, centralized Communist Party. The civil struggle is a war. In that war the proletariat must have its efficient corps of political officers, its efficient political general staff directing all operations in all spheres of the conflict.

(11) The mass struggle represents a whole system of developing demonstrations, becoming more and more intensified in their form, and logically leading to a rising against the Capitalist State. In this mass struggle, unfolding itself into a civil war, the guiding party of the proletariat must, as a general rule, consolidate in its rear any and every legal position, making them subsidiary strong points in its revolutionary work, and subordinating them to the plan of the chief campaign, that of the mass struggle.

(12) One of these subordinate strong points is the floor of the bourgeois parliament. It is not permissible to urge against participation in parliamentary action that parliament is an institution of the bourgeois state. The Communist Party enters that institution not for the purpose of carrying on organic work there, but in order to blow up the bourgeois machinery of government, and parliament itself, from within (e. g. the activity of Liebknecht

in Germany, of the Bolsheviks in the Imperial Duma, in the "Democratic Conference" in Kerensky's "Parliament," finally, in the "Constituent Assembly," and likewise in the town councils).

(13) This work in parliaments, which resolves itself mainly into revolutionary agitation from the floor of the House, exposure of opponents, the proclamation of watch-words for the masses, etc., must in its entirety be subordinated to the aims and problems of the mass struggle outside parliament.

(14) For this, the following conditions are essential:—

a) The absence of any form of "autonomy" for the Communist groups in Parliament, and their unquestioning subordination to the central committee of the Party.

b) Constant control and guidance on the part of the executive committee.

c) The arrangement of simultaneous demonstrations both within and without parliament.

d) A revolutionary attitude in parliament itself, i. e., the absence of any fear "on principle" of transgressing the rules of parliamentary debate.

e) The execution by Communist members of parliament of non-parliamentary work, specially in connection with mass demonstrations.

f) Constant touch with the illegal work of the Party, and the utilization of parliamentary privilege, so far as the latter exists, in this direction.

g) The immediate recall or expulsion from the Party of every member of the parliamentary group, who in his parliamentary work, disobeys the order of the Party.

(15) The electoral campaign itself must be carried on not in a spirit of pursuit of the maximum number of parliamentary seats, but in the spirit of the revolutionary mobilization of the masses around the watch-words of the proletarian revolution. The electoral campaign must be carried on by the whole mass of the members of the party, and not only by the leaders. It is necessary to utilize and be in complete contact with all mass actions taking place at the given moment (strikes, demonstrations, movements amongst soldiers and sailors, etc.). It is necessary to involve in active work all the mass organizations of the proletariat.

(16) If these conditions are observed, parliamentary work represents the complete antithesis of that dirty political scheming carried on by the Social-Democratic parties of all the countries, who enter parliament to support that "democratic" institution, or, at best, to "conquer" it. The Communist Party can stand only and exclusively for the revolutionary utilization of parliamentarism, as practised by Karl Liebknecht, Hoglund and the Bolsheviks.

(Continued next issue)

Greetings to the Cuban Comrades

To The Workingmen of Cuba:

THE struggle which is now going on in Europe is nothing less than the world conflict between the old order of society and the new, — the struggle between world Capitalism and world Communism. It is a struggle which must go on until the working class shall triumph in every part of the globe. The forces of the old order are uniting themselves in military leagues and alliances. The revolutionary workers are rallying under the red banner of the Communist International.

Once the workers unitedly resolve upon their own liberation, there is no power that can longer enslave them. The oppressions of the workers are due only to their blind submission. But the workers and peasants of Russia have come out of their darkness, and now call upon all others to join them in their struggle for true emancipation. Everywhere there is an answer to this call. The proud imperial government of Great Britain is compelled to end its intervention against the Communist rule of Russia by threat of an insurrection of the English workers. Likewise the workers of Italy and of France are threatening the power of imperialistic Capitalism.

Very soon the workingmen of America must be prepared for a gigantic conflict with American Imperialism. The American government is taking a

leading role in the world reaction; and this without the least concern about the will of the people. Into the world war the American people were hurled though they had expressed themselves almost unanimously against going into this war; into the intervention against the workers' government of Russia our soldiers, our money, our supplies were sent, without even a consultation of the Congress. The American government is the ready tool of American financial interests at home and in all parts of the world.

The tremendous strikes of the workers since the ending of the world war show what is ahead of us. The defeats of the steel workers, of the miners and of the railroad workers mean only a new mobilization for a more determined effort of the workers to win tolerable conditions of life for themselves and their families. Out of these struggles for immediate benefits comes the understanding and the will to undertake the ultimate struggle for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and for the communistic reorganization of society.

The United Communist Party strives to unite all the workers of the American continent in this struggle for workers' power. Particularly do we now appeal to the workers of Cuba to unite themselves with us, and thereby with the Communist International, in this world conflict of the classes.

We appeal to you to study and to make known to your fellow-workers the aims and the ideals of Communism, as set forth in our party program. More than this, we desire an actual and constant association and cooperation with the class-conscious workingmen of Cuba, with whom we are so closely joined by our common interests against American Imperialism.

This message of greeting and appeal for united effort is written almost at the moment of the triumphant entry of the Red Army into Warsaw, an event in history which definitely marks the passing of the crisis in the workers' struggle; for Communism is now victorious, and it is only a question of a short time when each of the capitalistic governments will give way to the rule of the workers — under the soviet form of proletarian democracy.

At this inspiring moment we extend to you the hand of comradeship; and we express the hope that we shall soon be united in our common struggle for workers' rule of America.

Fraternally yours,

INTERNATIONAL SECRETARY,
UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY

Communism

A Commentary on the Program of the United Communist Party Arranged for Study Class Use.

III. The Materialist Conception of History

The force
that changes
society

Our review of economic history brings us to the period of capitalism. By the term "capitalism" is meant not alone a new basis and method of wealth production and exchange, but a fundamentally different social system. Before considering the nature of capitalist society, we return to the question of the true interpretation of the great social transformations which constitute the main thread of history.

It is only through a knowledge of the underlying causes of the transformation which have taken place during the historic period that we can come to an understanding of capitalism and the forces which are transforming capitalist society.

In the previous lessons we presented in brief outline the three fundamentally different social systems, which together with the present capitalist system, represent the economic epochs through which man has lived.

What forces brought about the change from primitive communism to slavery, from slavery to feudalism and from feudalism to capitalism? Is there any definite underlying motive power that brings about the transformation of society?

It is one of the great achievements of Karl Marx, that through patient study and historical research, he was able to formulate this law of social change.

At all periods of human history the problem of obtaining the necessities of life is most fundamental. In solving that problem men enter into certain relations with each other. As the methods of producing the necessities of life change the relations of men undergo a corresponding change.

Thus we have seen that during the period of primitive communism there were no class divisions. Private property did not exist; all the members of the group contributed to and drew from the common store. Production at this stage of human society was a matter of hunting and fishing, gathering of fruits, etc. There was no basis for class divisions in the method of gaining a livelihood. Government, if it can be called that, was the leadership of the strongest or wisest.

With the domestication of animals and the development of agriculture — a new mode of gaining a livelihood — slavery made its appearance. The new mode of production made it possible to employ the labor of slaves profitably. The warrior who showed the greatest prowess in battle naturally captured the greatest number of slaves. He became the wealthy man of the tribe and gradually evolved into the ruler—the king. As the slave system grew, an organization became necessary to keep the slaves from revolting and the state arose as the machinery for keeping the exploited class in subjection.

The feudal system, which succeeded slave production, reflected, in the same manner, the fundamental relations of the system of production. The soil was no longer tilled by slave labor, but by serfs — labor bound to the soil. The serf was compelled to turn over to his master a certain part of his product and render

stated services on his land. His immediate overlord owed certain services and taxes to his overlord, and thus the system extended from the serf to ruling prince or king. The governmental institution was the reflex of the economic system.

Governments — or the state — arose when society broke into classes. In every historical period the existing governments have been the expression of the rule of the most powerful class. The ancient Greek and Roman states were the governments of the slave-holders. The feudal state was the means of defining the duties of the serf and the privileges of the feudal lords. The capitalist state, as we shall see later, safeguards the interests of the capitalist class.

New governments did not develop because of a development of ideas but because of the needs of the ruling class in each economic epoch.

This brief outline shows the basis of the conclusion Marx drew from his earlier studies, which he stated as follows:

"My investigation ended in the conviction that legal relations and forms of government cannot be explained either by themselves or by so-called general development of the mind, but on the contrary, have their roots in the conditions of man's physical existence".

Later Marx summed up his theory of the interpretation of history, which is general known as the Materialist Conception of History, in the following words:

"In making their livelihood together men enter into certain necessary involuntary relations with each other, industrial relations which correspond to whatever stage society has reached in the development of its material productive forces. The totality of these industrial relations constitute the economic structure of society, the real basis upon which the legal and political superstructure is built, and to which definite forms of social consciousness correspond."

In simple words this means that the methods of producing the necessities of life determines our form of government, our laws and even our religion and code of morals. The causes for changes in our political institutions or forms of government, in our philosophy of life or religion, in our codes of ethics or morals, must be sought for in the changing method of production.

Economic
Development
and Religion

While it thus becomes clear that the form of government has changed in accordance with the changing forms of production, it is not so easily apparent that the changing economic conditions have developed new religions and new codes of ethics and have even brought changes in the family relation.

It was no accident that the Christian religion developed at a time when the slave system was at its height. The Roman Empire ruled the world with an iron hand at this period. Life was hopeless for the subject peoples. Rome took from the conquered ter-

ritory most of what was produced. Rebellion against the might of Rome was useless.

It was natural that at this period a religion should develop which preached submission, which taught its followers to look to the hereafter for happiness and to cheerfully bear the burdens of the present. The teachings of the Christian religion grew out of the prevailing economic conditions and reflect the hopeless economic conditions in which the masses of that time found themselves. The Christian religion is a slave religion.

The Roman Catholic Church, which developed during the feudal period, is strikingly similar in its form of organization to the feudal system. Under the feudal system we have a hierarchy, beginning with the serf and proceeding upward by graduation to the knight, the lord, the count, the duke to the princes and king. In the Roman Church there are the bishops, archbishops, cardinal and pope, corresponding to the temporal rulers of the time. The Roman Catholic creed taught its followers to believe in a heavenly hierarchy strikingly similar in its organization to the feudal system.

The Protestant Reformation came as part of the early development of the capitalist system. With the need for freedom from the fetters of the feudal system, which hampered the development of trade and commerce, man's conscience began to trouble him and the demand arose that he be permitted to worship God in their own way. The economic struggle took on a religious aspect in those days, because the church was one of the greatest landowners and the greatest prop to the feudal system. It was necessary to overthrow the feudal religion in order to free the capitalists from restrictions which the feudal system put upon commerce.

We find the belief in a highly centralized form of religion developing at a time when the state presents itself as a highly centralized organization. Agnosticism and atheism flourished at a time when the doctrine of laissez faire was the uppermost idea in capitalist economy. The present imperialistic era, with its highly centralized industry and government is bringing a revival of the idea of an all pervading supernatural power.

How Economic
Developments
Influence Ideas

The same power which has shaped the religions of the past and present is apparent in the development of ideas. An excel-

lent example of this is to be found in the change in the current ideas in the United States during the last five years. From a people who were opposed to war and peace-loving, singing "I didn't raise my boy to be a soldier," who taught its youth to be proud of the fact that we had a small army and navy and which looked upon compulsory military service as one of the burden of the king-ridden nations of Europe, the people of the United States have become a military nation, that boasts of daily casualty list. The newspapers glory in the fact that American marines are fighting in all parts of the world.

The imperialist interests need foreign fields of exploitation and an ideology favorable to

(Continued on page 7)

Economics and Politics During the Period of Transition

By LENIN

The Great Step.

THE Russian workers have been liberated at last from the age-long exploitation and oppression of land-owners and capitalists. This step forward to real freedom and equality, a step both for swiftness and magnitude, unique in the world's history, is ignored by the partisans of capitalism. Amongst these are the small bourgeois democrats who talk of liberty and equality in the sense of bourgeois Parliamentary democracy, which they wrongly declare to be democracy in general, or, as Kautsky says, "pure democracy".

The workers who appreciate the importance of real equality and freedom, the freedom from the domination of landowners and capitalists because they have suffered under it, stand firm for the Soviet Power.

In a country of peasants those who benefited most and at once by the dictatorship of the proletariat were the peasants in general. Under the rule of the landowners and capitalists the Russian peasant was hungry. Never in the whole course of Russian history has the peasant been able to work for himself. He went hungry, while he delivered hundreds of millions poods of corn to the capitalists for our towns and for export abroad. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat the peasant worked for himself for the first time, and fed better than the town dweller. For the first time the peasant beheld real, actual freedom: freedom to eat his own produce, freedom from hunger, it is already known that equality in the division of land has been established on a maximalist basis — in the majority of cases the peasants divide the land according to the number of persons to be fed.

Socialism Entails the Abolition of Classes.

In order to abolish social classes one must first overthrow the landowners and capitalists. We have accomplished this part of the task, but that is only a part, and not the most difficult part of our stupendous labor. In order to abolish classes one must, in the second place, abolish the difference between the worker and the peasant, and one must make all the people — workers. This cannot be done in a hurry. It is a much harder task than the first, and will consequently take much longer to accomplish.

It is a task which cannot be solved by the overthrow of any one class. It can only be solved by a constructive remodelling of the entire social economy, by a transition from an individual, a small, private trading economy, to a social economy on a large scale. Such a transition must necessarily be a lengthy process, and it would only be retarded and hampered by hasty and imprudent administrative and legislative measures. This transition can only be accelerated by helping the peasant to remodel the entire system.

In order to accomplish the second and more difficult task, the proletariat, having conquered the bourgeoisie, must unswervingly pursue the following line of policy with regard to the peasantry: the proletariat must distinguish between the working peasant and the peasant owner, the peasant trader and the peasant speculator. The be-all and end-all of Socialism lies in this distinction.

It is therefore not surprising that those who render lip service to Socialism, but act like small-bourgeois democrats, fail to understand this essential of Socialism.

To arrive at the above-mentioned distinction is by no means easy, because, in real life, all the characteristics of the "peasant", no matter how various and contradictory they be, form one big whole. Nevertheless, the distinctions are there. They are the inevitable outcome of the conditions of peasant economy and peasant life. The working peasant has been oppressed for centuries by the landowners, the capitalists, the traders, the speculators and the capitalist States, including the most democratic republics. The working peasant has nurtured within himself hatred and enmity towards these age-long oppressors and exploiters, and these lessons, taught by life itself, compel the peasant to seek an alliance with the workers against the capitalist, the speculator and the trader. At the same time, the entire economic structure, which makes the peasant dependent on goods received from outside, tends to

turn him (not always, but in the majority of cases) into a trader and speculator.

The peasant, who in 1918-19 provided the hungry town workers with 40 million poods of corn at the fixed Government price, by handing it over to the State organizations, is a true working peasant and a comrade of the Socialist worker. He is the latter's most reliable ally, and his brother in the fight against the capitalist yoke. On the other hand, the peasant who sold surreptitiously 40 million poods of corn at a price ten times higher than the Government price, who took advantage of the needs and the hunger of the town worker, who cheated the State, and increased or created everywhere fraud, robbery and scoundrelly transactions, is a peasant profiteer, an ally of the capitalists, a class enemy of the worker and an exploiter.

Well Fed.

"You are the destroyers of liberty, equality, democracy" — is the cry raised from all sides against us. Our detractors point to the inequality, as between the worker and the peasant, in our constitution to the dispersal of the Constituent Assembly, to the forcible requisitions of surplus corn. Our answer to these accusations is that no other State in the whole world has done so much for the removal of the real inequalities and of the real lack of freedom which for centuries had been the lot of the working peasant. We do not and will never recognize equality with the peasant speculator. We do not recognize the equality of the exploiter with the exploited, of the hungry with the well-fed, and the "freedom" of the former to rob the latter. And we shall deal with those highly-educated people who do not want to understand this difference, as if they were White Guards, even if they call themselves Democrats, Socialists, Internationalists, Kautskys, Cchernovs and Martovs.

Proletarian Dictatorship Will End Social Classes.

Socialism is the abolition of classes. The dictatorship of the proletariat has done its utmost to bring about this abolition, but it is impossible to do away with the class system all at once. Thus the classes have remained, and will remain, all through the period of proletarian dictatorship. When classes have finally disappeared, there will be no need for dictatorship, but they will never disappear without the dictatorship of the working-class.

The classes have remained, but each one of them has taken a different aspect during this period of proletarian dictatorship; a change has also taken place in their mutual relations. The class struggle does not disappear under proletarian dictatorship, it only takes a different form.

Under capitalism the proletariat has always been the oppressed class — the class which was denied ownership of the means of production, which alone was directly and completely opposed to the bourgeoisie. Therefore it was the only class capable of remaining revolutionary right through the struggle. Having overthrown the bourgeoisie, and having conquered political power, the proletariat has become the governing class. The State Power is in its hands; it controls the socialized means of production, it guides the vacillating intermediate elements and classes, it crushes the power of resistance of the exploiters. All these are special tasks of the class struggle, tasks which, formerly, the proletariat did not and could not undertake.

The Exploiters are Overthrown But Not Destroyed.

The class of exploiters, landowners and capitalists has not disappeared, and could not disappear at once under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The exploiters are overthrown, but not destroyed. They retain the basis of international capitalism, of which they are part and parcel. They still possess some means of production, as well as money and extensive social connection. Their power of resistance has increased a hundred, nay, a thousandfold by the very fact of their defeat. Their ability in State, military, and economic administration, affords them a great superiority, so that their importance is considerably out of proportion to their numerical strength, as compared with the whole population.

The class struggle of the overthrown exploiters against the victorious vanguard of the exploited, the proletariat, has become more intense. This is only a natural development of the revolution which the "heroes" of the Second International are vainly endeavoring to deny, by substituting reformist illusions for the hard facts of revolution.

Finally, the peasantry, and the entire small bourgeoisie are occupying, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, a medium, or interim, position. On the one hand, they represent a considerable (and in backward Russia), an enormous mass of workers, united by the desire, common to all workers, to free themselves from the domination of landowners and capitalists. On the other hand, they consist of small proprietors and traders in towns and villages. Such an economic situation must inevitably produce indecision and waverings in the relations between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. As the struggle of the bourgeoisie becomes intensified, all social relations undergo a great radical change, the ingrained conservatism of the peasants and small bourgeoisie is bound to lead to indecision and to sudden and spasmodic changes in the adherence of these elements to either one side or the other.

The proletariat must endeavor to influence and guide these vacillating social elements, steadying and spurring on the waverers and backsliders.

We have only to take into consideration all the fundamental forces or classes and the change brought about in their mutual relations by the proletarian dictatorship, in order to realize how infinitely absurd, nay, stupid, is the small-bourgeois theory (so prevalent in the Second International) that Socialism will be attained through "democracy in general". This colossal error is based on the belief in the classless character of democracy, a belief instilled by the bourgeoisie. In reality, democracy itself enters on a new phase under proletarian dictatorship, and the class struggle is lifted into a higher plane, superseding all and every other form of contest.

Generalities about liberty, equality, democracy are nothing but a blind replica of notions borrowed from conditions and relations in industrial production. The endeavor to solve by means of these phrases the concrete tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat is tantamount to adopting, all along the line, the theories and principles of the bourgeoisie. From the proletarian point of view, the only important questions are:—

"Freedom from oppression by which class?"

"Equality between what classes?"

"Democracy on the basis of private property, or on the basis of the struggle for the elimination of private property?"

COMMUNIQUE

(Continued from page 2)

"I was against war when there was an opportunity to make peace on favorable terms. At the time I was prime minister I favored doing so. So I went to Paris and laid the matter before the Supreme Council. I asked to be allowed to accept these terms, but they would not agree to that. We were bound to the Allies, we were their protege, they had guaranteed our independence and we had to abide by their decisions. They themselves were then supporting three Russian armies in the field."

Everybody knows that what Paderewski confesses is true, despite the lies of Lloyd George, Wilson and their fellow hypocrites.

* * *

THE New York Socialists have begun their campaign in defense of the constitution of the United States. Why waste their time? If the capitalists don't smash it entirely the revolutionary workers will soon send it to the ash heap.

Discipline

By BLAST

IN building a revolutionary organization, certain basic principles must be observed and enforced.

The very idea of revolution indicates that two classes are hostile to each other, each one using any means to destroy the other.

We, the Communists, as a proletarian revolutionary organization, have against us the consolidated power of the State (in all its departments), the bourgeoisie and all of its instruments, such as the press, church, school, etc. It is necessary in carrying on warfare with such enemies, therefore, that we keep all information regarding our plans and modes of action as secret as possible. This means that each member is duty-bound to discipline himself in every conceivable way, in order that not only he but the ORGANIZATION may not suffer.

As a young organization unfamiliar with the ways of underground work; as a body that only a short time ago passed out of the legal stage of its existence to one of greater EFFICIENCY, and yet of greater danger, it is quite natural that it cannot free itself at once of the habits of years.

Although the greater part of the membership is youthful in years, it is not more flexible in adopting itself to new and unique conditions than any other body of men. This can only be achieved through training: it is a product of time and experience. Nevertheless, time does not wait. Effective work produces results: missteps and lack of caution have their penalty.

The nature of the United Com. Party organization is such that self-discipline cannot be relied upon. Unprotected and unprotectable as it is, the folly of a single member might lead to disastrous results. The party, therefore, must protect itself as well as it can by rigid discipline exacted from EVERY member, from EVERY unit.

Secrecy is fundamental to the welfare of the Party. Since we are dealing with human beings, ideal secrecy is unattainable. Certain prescriptions, nevertheless, must be enforced, through which the highest degree of secrecy may be obtained.

Strict and unconditional isolation of the groups must be insisted on. For no reason whatever should groups be allowed to meet together.

It is extremely hard to break up the old psychology. It is extremely difficult to dissolve the old relationships. But whatever relations individuals have to each other, as **members of a group** they have no **open** relations to any other group. They are a body of ten men and women, who, for all they know, are the whole United Com. Party. They have a particular function to perform, a function laid down by the group organizer, and totally disconnected from the functions of any other group. The coordination of their work is brought about by the higher Party units and finally the C. E. C., which the threads leading to all parts of the country, and being the sole body in touch with the Third International, is capable of bringing about simultaneous action — revolutionary action.

It is essential, therefore, that absolute isolation be unconditional, in order that the enemy, through spies, stoolpigeons etc., may learn as little of the inner working of the Party and its personnel as possible.

In order to disconcert the enemy to a still greater degree, Communists must adopt means whereby the names of the members shall not be available. Each member should adopt a pseudonym for party work, a pseudonym that, if necessary, may be changed every six months, if conditions require.

Revolution is not an act artificially conceived and decided upon for a definite time. Revolution is a process of development for which definite revolutionaries must be prepared. Their ranks must be so aligned, their organization so established, that when the call comes, there will be no part missing to impede the action of the machine. Each member must be in his place.

Revolutionaries are inclined to be dictatorial. They do not understand the supreme necessity of adopting the role of a cog in the machine. To become that cog, training is essential. Group organizers have a high duty in training the membership to regularity and punctuality in meeting. The time will come — and no one can tell how soon — when every member of the party must be up and doing — when revolutionary activity will be the order of the day.

Each man must have become so disciplined and have disciplined himself to such a degree that he will know that failure to do his duty, or be at his station at the proper time may result in defeat — in a setback for the ORGANIZATION. He must be driven into consciousness of every member till it enters his subconsciousness that, as a member of a revolutionary body, he has duties and responsibilities that must not be shirked. He must learn to understand that every other member has his own duties and responsibilities and must be detained in the performance of his duties and responsibilities by tardiness and failure of others to keep appointments. He must learn that **PARTY WORK IS THE MOST IMPORTANT WORK, TO WHICH ALL ELSE IS SECONDARY.** Only such revolutionaries are preparing themselves for the revolution.

Discipline in this respect must be enforced in every department of the party work. Soviet Russia has already recognized that fact and established a system of fines for tardiness.

It is obvious that, due to the form of our organization and the manner of our work, it is impossible for the lower units and the membership to communicate direct with the higher bodies, or be communicated with by them. In order that the organization may operate properly, however, it is necessary that the rank and file be informed of the tasks before them and the strategy that the party will employ. It is necessary that, as soldiers of the revolution, they be instructed and trained to their duties.

This will only be possible if they obtain information in all details available from their group organizers; they, in turn, from the branch organizers, who obtain it from the section organizers, who, in turn, receive it from the district organizers, who get it from the C. E. C.

Unless each member of each successive unit takes due note of all information and instructing — and surely this can only be done by making **WRITTEN NOTES** — the membership will obtain very unsatisfactory instructions. Furthermore, it is necessary that the instructions and information be as detailed as compatible, since human nature is suspicious and infers that whatever is secretive is doubtful.

Consequently, rumors, vague and vicious, are bound to reach the rank and file, and lower the morale. To offset a possibility of this kind, it must be impressed on the membership that the information given is **AUTHENTIC.**

As the rank and file is the body of the movement, as it elects and submits to leadership and organization in order more effectively to carry on its work, ITS wishes and recommendations must be earnestly solicited and weighed. No member should consider his ideas of too little consequence to merit attention. Only by an enlightened membership, only by arousing the constructive talent of every member, will it be possible for a revolutionary movement of our nature to cope with every problem that, previous to and during the days of the revolution, will have to be solved. Only by developing the native ability of all the members will we train the future administrators of economic and cultural life.

Our Party organs deal with every phase of the movement among the workers. Tactics is a vital subject, both as regards organization and action. The members are in **direct** touch with the workers. Those among them capable of contributing articles, both theoretical and empirical, on the problems before us, should be encouraged to do so. The theoreticians in the American movement are still to be discovered. The great variety of our publications allows considerable scope for diverse individualities to do **CONSTRUCTIVE WORK** in the movement.

Each member should register his number with his group organizer, who should see to its transmission, in the proper form, to the higher bodies that need his services. Educational, agitational, organizing, technical work demands workers.

If volunteers are not forthcoming, a revolutionary organization, conscious of its task and based upon strict discipline, has the incontestable right and duty to conscript any and every member for a function that it deems him best fitted for. It has the right and would not fulfil its responsibility if it hesitated in demanding that each member performs his implicit duty in furthering the cause of the revolution.

The times are too menacing! Discontent and rebellion are rampant throughout the world. Workers dissatisfied with the present world order are giving voice to their unrest and seeking a way out of the chaos that capitalism has bequeathed them.

The United Comm. Party is the answer to the call of distress of the working class. It offers the method and leadership for the emancipation of the workers. To do its work, **every member must be a true revolutionary, to whom no other cause than the revolution is so sacred; who is willing to leave home and wife and father and mother, and devote himself to this cause alone.**

The United Comm. Party is a revolutionary party based on the strictest discipline. No one is eligible who will not submit or cannot adapt himself to discipline. The United Com. Party demands and accepts only active members. Activity is determined according to kind, each doing what he is best qualified for. Nor can any member be considered **REALLY** active who does not give of his best to this activity.

Only on such a basis is revolution — not a fruitless rebellion — possible.

Only with this understanding of revolution can the Communist Party grow in power and fulfill its purpose.

IRON DISCIPLINE FOUNDED ON THE VOLUNTARY CONSENT OF THE MEMBERS! — that is Communist method and policy.

THE London capitalist papers, and the New York Times, which followed their lead, tried to make light of the dagger which the British labor put to the throat of the capitalist government of that country in threatening revolution if England went to the aid of Poland in the struggle against Soviet Russia, by declaring that the attitude of British Labor was sham heroics, as England never and any intentions of going to the aid of Poland. But Lloyd George gave the whole show away when he began to bluster of action of British workers being a blow at orderly procedure and the foundations of constitutional governments, etc. Those foundations are pretty wobbly, these days.

COMMUNISM

(Continued from page 5)

war is created. Millions of people who shouted for peace now shout for war.

We have come to believe in war. Reactionaries because of their economic interests. Revolutionists because of the intensified class struggle. Only the blind sentimentalist is a pacifist today. He does not count. Those who wish us to believe that ideas develop and that they influence the course of history should point out in what way peace is a higher ideal than war, and why it is that the human race having reached a higher ideal slips back to the acceptance of a lower?

The truth of the matter is that ideas do not develop by themselves. Peace was preached in biblical times. There was peace when the interests of the ruling classes requires it. Peace will be broken by the workers when it serves their interests. Ideas change in accordance with economic interests.

What has been shown to be true in regard to government, religion and ideas is equally true in the realm of science and invention. The economic needs and the economic motive dominates these as much as the others.

As Marx has so well summed up the matter:

"The method of producing the material livelihood determines the social, political and intellectual life processes in general. It is not man's consciousness which determines their life; on the contrary, it is their social life which determines their consciousness".

Long Live Soviet Poland !

(Continued from page 1)

The Soviet Government of Russia has recognized the independence of Poland from the beginning and has tried to settle peaceably all questions between Poland and Russia.

As long ago as Feb. 3, 1918, Leon Trotsky, speaking for the Soviet Republic, said: "We recognize entirely and without restrictions the independence of the Polish people and the Polish state".

From that date until the present time the Soviet Government of Russia has tried by every means to establish peace between Poland and Russia through a peace conference, but the Polish Government, acting under instructions of the Allied capitalist governments, refused to make peace. In January of this year, the Council of People's Commissaries of Soviet Russia declared, "that there is no question, territorial, economic or other, affecting the real interests of Poland, which cannot be decided by peaceful negotiations, concessions and mutual agreement".

From January until the sudden invasion of the Ukraine by Polish troops, which pillaged cities and murdered men, women and children, the Soviet Government again and again tried to begin peace negotiations, but the Polish Government did not want peace.

Polish workers! It was not Soviet Russia which attacked Poland. The truth is that Poland, acting as the tool of England, France and the United States and urged on by them, attacked and sought to destroy the Soviet Government of Russia. It is the Allied capitalist governments which are responsible for the present situation of Poland. Soviet Russia had to fight in self-defense.

SOVIET RUSSIA IS NOT FIGHTING AGAINST THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS OF POLAND. IT DOES NOT SEEK TO ANNEX OR DESTROY POLAND. SOVIET RUSSIA IS FIGHTING AGAINST THE ALLIED CAPITALIST NATIONS. IT IS FIGHTING FOR THE FREEDOM OF THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS OF POLAND AND FOR THE FREEDOM OF THE WORKERS EVERYWHERE FROM THE YOKE OF THOSE WHO ROB AND OPPRESS THEM.

The reason the Allied capitalist nations are seeking to destroy the Soviet Government is because the workers and peasants of Russia have overthrown the government of the capitalists and landowners and established a government of the workers and peasants. The Soviet Government has given the land to the peasants

and the factories to the workers. The capitalists of other countries fear that their workers will do the same and therefore seek to destroy Soviet Russia.

The workers and peasants of Poland understand this. Many thousands of them, under the leadership of the Communists are supporting Soviet Russia against the government of Pilsudski and Dmowski. They know that they can win their freedom only by overthrowing the capitalist government of Poland and establishing a Soviet Government of the Workers and Peasants of Poland.

Polish Workers of the United States! Do not support the enemies of the workers and peasants of Poland. Do not give one penny nor a single life to fight against Soviet Russia. Do not support in any way the bourgeois government of Poland, which in order to satisfy its imperialistic ambitions and to do the dirty work of the Allied capitalist government, made its brutal attack upon the workers and peasants of Russia.

A VICTORY FOR THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT OF RUSSIA WILL BE A VICTORY FOR THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS OF POLAND. PEACE WILL BE MADE BETWEEN THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT OF RUSSIA AND THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT OF POLAND. SUCH A PEACE WILL BRING THE COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE OF POLAND UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE MASSES OF THE POLISH PEOPLE. IT WILL GIVE THE LAND TO THE PEASANTS AND THE FACTORIES TO THE WORKERS. IT WILL END THE ROBBERY AND EXPLOITATION OF THE MASSES BY THE CAPITALISTS AND THE LANDOWNERS.

DOWN WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF THE POLISH BOURGEOISIE AND LANDOWNERS.

DOWN WITH THE SOCIALIST BETRAYERS OF THE WORKERS.

DOWN WITH THE ALLIED CAPITALIST GOVERNMENTS.

LONG LIVE SOVIET RUSSIA.

LONG LIVE SOVIET POLAND.

LONG LIVE INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS SOLIDARITY.

The Political Prisoners at Dannemora

Report of Their Attorney

On Tuesday, July 27, I saw the four political prisoners at Dannemora—Gitlow, Alonen, Winitsky and Larkin. I was treated with courtesy by the authorities. I had a long private interview with each of the men.

The prison is not so bad, in comparison with others, as I had been led to suppose. Ex-Senator James L. Long, Deputy Superintendent of Prisons, ran the prison for a month this spring in an interval between wardens and introduced various betterments which the new warden, Mr. Kaiser, has continued. It is still regarded as a punishment prison for old offenders and refractory convicts, but it is less different than formerly from Sing Sing and Auburn. The prisoners do not have so much time to themselves. Their visiting privileges are more restricted; their correspondence is more interfered with. In the prison staff there are still guards bred in the old school of man-breaking savagery.

The four political prisoners are not, however, undergoing specific torments. They are all "good prisoners." But they do not have such favors and privileges as may be easily obtained by professional criminals of depravity and standing. A pimp, thief or gunman who is willing to make himself agreeable to the prison organization may count upon a desirable job in the prison and upon becoming, in the course of time, a trusty. If his wife or mother makes the long journey to Dannemora, he gets practically as a matter of course the privilege of sitting with her for long hours of private conversation in the office "outside the gate." Nobody stands by to listen to what is said or to insist upon it being said in the English language if that is not their natural medium of communication. The political prisoner is led into a little gridded pen. The visitor is led. When a visitor (other than counsel) comes, the prisoner is led into a little gridded pen. The visitor is led into another gridded pen. The prisoner's gridded pen is separated from the visitor's gridded pen by an aisle

two or three feet wide. A "screw" (warden) stands in the aisle between prisoner and guest. He censors the subject matter of the conversation and forbids the use of languages other than English. This has been the experience particularly of Alonen, whose family and friends speak only Finnish, and Winitsky, whose natural medium of communication with his parents is Yiddish. Most of Larkin's visitors have not been allowed to see him even through the grill.

Reading matter sent to the political prisoners is apt to be kept from them—especially the New Republic and The Nation, which some of the other prisoners are allowed freely to receive.

Letters written by or to the political prisoners are frequently detained. This includes correspondence with their counsel. Important and confidential letters between Larkin and me, relating to the conduct of his case on appeal, were entirely suppressed.

I had a talk with Warden Kaiser, who disclaims strongly any intention of subjecting political prisoners to discrimination, and who ordered the correspondence censor to release my letter to Larkin and Larkin's to me. I also had a talk with Mr. Long, who happened to be visiting the prison that day, as to the general policy of transferring political prisoners to Dannemora. Mr. Long insisted strongly that there was no such policy—that the political prisoners are at Dannemora simply because it was necessary in adjusting the prison population that some prisoners be sent there. I have been told, however, that a draft of prisoners of the class usually thought of as belonging at Dannemora was transferred from that prison to Sing Sing at about the same time that the political prisoners were transferred from Sing Sing to Dannemora.

The physical condition of the men I saw, except Larkin, is about as good as is to be expected of men in jail. Winitsky is keenly distressed by the detention of correspondence between him and his mother, who is in poor health. When his father visited him last week the guard stationed between his cage and his

father's ordered him not to talk about this or about other unsanitary prison conditions. Winitsky exclaimed that he would protest to his father, whatever the consequences, and the interview ended in a heated discussion with the Principal Keeper. Winitsky has not been punished, but he apprehends that he will be watched closely until caught in some trivial infraction of rules which can be made the basis for transferring him to the cotton shop, reputed the worst in the prison. Alonen and Gitlow are men of self-contained type who are able to a considerable extent to regard prison conditions with detachment and to live within themselves. They succeed in making a pretty good best of their bad situation.

Larkin, on the other hand, is a man of terrific vitality, who lives intensely, in prison or out. His cell is in the old insect-ridden "east hall." His job is in the cotton shop—the worst in the prison—winding cotton thread on spools or bobbins, breathing air full of cotton fluff. Most of the men who work in that shop have been sent there as a punishment. Several seeming attempts have been made to induce him to lose control of his hot temper, and say or do something for which he could be disciplined. He has been told that unless he conducts himself to the satisfaction of certain officials, he will not leave the prison alive. Larkin replied with dignity that he was at Dannemora not to curry favor but to serve a certain term of imprisonment.

Larkin is dominated by a fierce sense of social justice. Those who knew him out of jail will remember how he kindled at wrong between man and man, however remote his personal concern. This quality of his causes him more suffering in prison than insults or bad physical conditions. He meets continually with things that burn him—mess tables decently painted on the side which confronts visitors in the mess hall; but stinking on the side at which the prisoners eat; the lesser harshness of prison towards depraved professional criminals than towards decent men who have made a slip; sodomists who pass along the cell block soliciting infamy; petty graft and pull and politics and cruelty. Larkin looks years older than when he went to prison.